

## Message Text

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY LISBON PRIORITY

S E C R E T STATE 253690

NODIS

FOLLOWING REPEAT LUANDA 1629 ACTION SECSTATE 23 OCT 75

QUOTE

S E C R E T LUANDA 1629

NODIS

E.O. 11652: XGDS-3

TAGS: PFOR, AO

SUBJ: ANGOLA CONTINGENCY PLANNING

REF: STATE 247557

1. THE DEPARTMENT HAS ASKED FOR MY COMMENTS ON THE POSITION THE U.S.G. SHOULD ADOPT IF MPLA SETS UP ITS OWN GOVERNMENT IN LUANDA AND IF A) FNLA AND UNITA DENOUNCE THE MOVE AND CONTINUE FIGHTING; B) FNLA AND UNITA ESTABLISH THEIR OWN GOVERNMENTS; AND C) FNLA AND UNITA COOPERATE IN SETTING UP A SINGLE RIVAL GOVERNMENT.

2. I RECOMMEND THE SAME COURSE OF ACTION FOR ALL THREE SCENARIOS:

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ANNOUNCE THAT WE CAN TAKE NO POSITION ON RECOGNITION AND SHUT DOWN

THE CONSULATE. OUR REMAINING HERE WOULD BE TANTAMOUNT TO RECOGNITION. FNLA AND UNITA WOULD NOT UNDERSTAND OUR ACTION AND WE WOULD PREJUDICE OUR ABILITY TO INFLUENCE THEM. MPLA WOULD NOT ACCEPT THE OPENING BY US OF OFFICES IN UNITA AND FNLA TERRITORY AND PROBABLY WOULD SHUT US DOWN IF WE WERE STILL IN LUANDA,

3. AS WE COULD NOT RECOGNIZE AN MPLA GOVERNMENT, WE WOULD REMAIN HERE WITH NO STATUS AND NO PROTECTION FROM THE GOVERNMENT DURING WHAT PROMISES TO BE A SAVAGE CIVIL WAR. THE LIVES OF STAFF WOULD BE CONSTANTLY IN DANGER FROM ORGANIZED AND UNORGANIZED ARMED CIVILIANS. SHOULD CABINDA BE TAKEN FROM MPLA, THERE WOULD BE A VERY REAL DANGER OF REPRISALS, WITH KIDNAPPING A DEFINITE THREAT. IF, AS EXPECTED, A BATTLE ENSUES FOR THE CONTROL OF LUANDA, THE CITY WILL BECOME UNLIVABLE, THERE WILL BE NO MEANS OF ESCAPE AND ALL FOREIGNERS WILL BE TARGETS OF OPPORTUNITY FOR VIGILANTES AND HOODLUMS.

4. THERE FOLLOW A FEW OBSERVATIONS ON THE ISSUE OF RECOGNITION THAT THE DEPARTMENT SHOULD TAKE INTO ACCOUNT BEFORE IT ADOPTS ITS POLICY.

5. THE MOST LIKELY SCENARIO AT INDEPENDENCE IS ONE IN WHICH THERE WILL BE NO AGREEMENT AMONG THE LIBERATION GROUPS; MPLA WILL DECLARE ITSELF THE LEGITIMATE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ANGOLAN PEOPLE AND ANNOUNCE THAT THE OTHER MOVEMENTS ARE REBELS. FNLA AND UNITA CAN BE EXPECTED TO ADOPT ANALOGOUS POSITIONS. SOME OBSERVERS EXPECT A UNITA/FNLA COALITION; WHILE POSSIBLE, A COALITION PROBABLY WILL NOT EMERGE ON INDEPENDENCE DAY. WE CAN ACCEPT AS GIVEN THAT THE PORTUGUESE WILL BE OUT OF THE PICTURE ON NOVEMBER 11. IF MPLA IS ALONE IN LUANDA, THE HIGH COMMISSIONER WILL NOT TURN OVER SOVEREIGNTY, BUT WILL MERELY DISAPPEAR IN THE NIGHT OF NOVEMBER 10-11. BEFORE LEAVING HE WILL MAKE A STATEMENT DEPLORING THE SITUATION AND STATING THAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY WILL HAVE TO TRY AND BRING THE WARRING FACTIONS TOGETHER. HE WILL REFER TO THE RIGHT OF ALL THREE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS TO PARTICIPATE IN THE GOVERNMENT.

6. AN MPLA GOVERNMENT ESTABLISHED IN LUANDA AS THE "NATIONAL GOVERNMENT" WILL IMMEDIATELY OBTAIN THE RECOGNITION OF SEVERAL

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AFRICAN STATES, THE USSR AND THE EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES, POSSIBLY SOME SCANDINAVIANS, A FEW LATIN AMERICANS, ARABS AND ASIANS - ENOUGH, IN ANY EVENT, TO GIVE IT A BASE ON WHICH TO BUILD. IF IT CAN HOLD OUT, MPLA WILL OVER TIME WIN ADDITIONAL RECOGNITIONS AND STANDS A CHANCE OF GAINING THE STATUS OF THE "LEGITIMATE" GOVERNMENT OF ANGOLA THROUGH A DEVELOPING INTERNATIONAL CONSENSUS. MPLA WILL WANT AS MANY RECOGNITIONS AS POSSIBLE IN ORDER QUICKLY TO WIN INTERNATIONAL RESPECTABILITY,

AND RECOGNITION BY US WOULD BE A SIGNAL VICTORY FOR THEM. I THINK MPLA DEFINITELY DOES WANT TO MAINTAIN RELATIONS WITH ALL NATIONS, AT LEAST DURING THE INITIAL PHASE WHEN IT WILL BE SEEKING TO WIN OUT OVER ITS RIVALS. NEITHER FNLA NOR UNITA CAN HOPE TO GARNER ANYTHING LIKE THE NUMBER OF BACKS MPLA WILL GET.

7. IF WE DO NOT RECOGNIZE MPLA, IT CAN EITHER IGNORE THE MATTER AND LET THE CONSULATE GENERAL SIT HERE UNTIL THE POLITICAL SITUATION SORTS ITSELF OUT, OR IT CAN ASK US TO LEAVE. AS LONG AS THERE IS A HOT WAR, THE HARD-LINERS IN THE MPLA WILL HAVE THE GREATEST WEIGHT AND I DOUBT THEY WILL TOLERATE OUR PRESENCE IF WE REFUSE TO RECOGNIZE THE MPLA.

8. IF WE ARE NOT THROWN OUT, SHOULD WE STAY OR LEAVE? IF WE STAY, WE WILL HAVE LITTLE TO DO AND IN THE ABSENCE OF ANY IMMUNITIES OR GUARANTEES FROM THE GOVERNMENT OUR EMPLOYEES WOULD BE AT ALL TIMES IN DANGER OF PHYSICAL HARM AND ARBITRARY ARREST. AGAIN, OUR MERE PRESENCE, EVEN IN THE ABSENCE OF RECOGNITION, IMPLIES AN EXPECTATION THAT MPLA WILL, IN FACT PREVAIL. BY LEAVING WE MAKE CLEAR WE DO NOT RECOGNIZE MPLA'S CLAIM TO BE THE SOLE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ANGOLAN PEOPLE

9. IF WE MAKE NO ANNOUNCEMENT OF OUR POSITION ON RECOGNITION, THERE EXISTS THE POSSIBILITY THAT MPLA WILL EXTEND DIPLOMATIC RECOGNITION TO US. IF WE DO NOT RESPOND TO THIS OPENING, MPLA LEADERS PROBABLY WILL WAIT FORM SOME TIME BEFORE GIVING US AN ULTIMATUM. ONCE HAVING MADE THE OFFER, THEY WILL BE UNDER SOME OBLIGATION TO PROTECT OUR PERSONNEL. WE COULD NOT RESPOND AFFIRMATIVELY BECAUSE OF THE DAMAGE THAT WOULD DO TO OUR RELATIONS WITH FNLA AND UNITA. A NEGATIVE REPLY WOULD BE CAUSE FOR THE MPLA TO THROW US OUT.

10. I BELIEVE THAT THE PREFERRED COURSE OF ACTION IS TO ISSUE A  
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STATEMENT AT INDEPENDENCE IN WHICH WE REFER TO THE REFUSAL OF THE GOVERNMENT OF PORTUGAL TO TRANSFER SOVEREIGNTY TO ANY ONE GROUP. WE SHOULD STATE THAT IN LIGHT OF THE SITUATION WE CANNOT RECOGNIZE ANY GOVERNMENT AT THIS TIME AND THAT OUR EVENTUAL POSITION WILL DEPEND UPON INTERNAL DEVELOPMENTS AND DECISIONS TAKEN AT THE REGIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL LEVELS BY COMPETENT AUTHORITY. MEANWHILE, WE RECOGNIZE THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE STATE OF ANGOLA WITH THE SAME BOUNDARIES AS THE FORMER COLONY. IF THE DEPARTMENT IS INTERESTED IN KEEPING THE CONSULATE GENERAL OPEN, IT SHOULD SO STATE IN THE ANNOUNCEMENT. TO DO SO WOULD PUT MPLA ON THE DEFENSIVE; IF THEY THROW US OUT THEY IN EFFECT DENY THEIR PROFESSED INTENTION OF MAINTAINING RELATIONS WITH ALL NATIONS. THEY MAY BE WILLING TO TAKE UNOFFICIAL RELATIONS IN PREFERENCE TO NO RELATIONS. IF WE WISH TO CLOSE DOWN WE SHOULD ANNOUNCE IN OUR STATEMENT THAT BECAUSE OF THE UNCERTAIN

SITUATION, THE LACK OF SECURITY AND THE DANGER TO U.S. NATIONALS,  
WE ARE CLOSING UNTPL SUCH TIME AS THE POLITICAL ISSUES ARE RESOLVED.

KILLORAN  
UNQUOTE INGERSOLL

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